ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

Lawlessness at Meetings.

Mr. T. M. Varughese (*Pattanamtitta*): Sir, the adjournment motion now before the House relates to the rowdyism and lawlessness encouraged by the Police at the Public meetings recently held at Neyyattinkara, Nedunkanda and Shertalai. I shall in the order of date first deal with the incidents at the Neyyattinkara meeting.

The meeting was held on the 25th of Medom this year. The day previous to the date of the meeting, the conveners of the meeting, three of the most respectable citizens of the Taluk, one of them being the President of the Neyyattinkara Municipality, issued a statement detailing the various preparations that were being made by the District Magistrate of Trivandrum and other officials with a view to prevent the meeting being held, with particular reference to the open attempts made by them to get rowdies in Neyyattinkara and neighbouring places for creating disturbances at the next day's meeting.

The meeting was timed to commence at 4 p. m. We reached the place of meeting a little before 4 when we found there assembled a very large crowd awaiting our arrival. We commenced the proceedings of the meeting precisely at 4 P. M. Mr. A. Thanu Pillay, the President of the State Congress, taking the Chair. Before the introductory speech from the chair, there was a welcome speech by one of the conveners, Mr. G. Raman Pillay. When the next speaker, a State Congress member, was speaking, one among the audience put a question or two as to whether the plea for responsible government subject to the powers and prerogatives of His Highness the Maharaja was not a contradiction in terms. The speaker tried to explain the position and finally told the questioner that, in spite of the seeming contradiction in terms said to be involved in the expression, all that the State Congress stood for was only a responsible Government subject to the limitations implied in the reservation referred to. Apparently he was satisfied. When the next speaker stood up to speak another man from among the audience put to him a question to which that speaker gave an answer. After hearing that answer the questioner, as if dissatisfied and astonished at the answer said something in a disproportionately loud tone. The D.S.P., Trivandrum who was all the while standing behind the questioners immediately moved towards the President's chair. In the meanwhile a band of policemen armed with lathis, and a large number of rowdies who were kept in hiding, in reserve as it were, behind a School building in close proximity to the place of meeting, rushed to the meeting place and took their stand by the side of the D. S. P. The D. S. P. read out, to the hearing of the speakers and the President, an order issued by the District Magistrate declaring the meeting an unlawful assembly, and demanded that it should be dispersed. The President of the meeting, considering the situation, dispersed the meeting, and the crowd went away peacefully.

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[Mr. T. M. Varughese.]

The same evening Mr. Thanu Pillai issued a statement. I shall, Sir, with the permission of the House refer to some portions of the two statements one relating to the preparations made by the officers previous to the meeting and the other to the incidents that happened at the meeting. Both the statements were published in the papers. I shall not tire the patience of the House by reading the full text of the statements unless I am asked to do so. I shall only refer to some of the relevant portions for the purpose of elucidating my position.

PRESIDENT: I take it that the honourable member accepts responsibility for the statements contained in those reports.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: I do accept full responsibility for all the statements that I make.

PRESIDENT: Honourable member reads an extract from a newspaper. He is permitted to do so only when he takes full responsibility for the statement contained in the extract unless it be that he uses it for the definite purpose that such a statement has been made in a newspaper. Even then it will be allowed only if it is relevant. But, if any statement in a newspaper is referred to as proof of the facts contained therein, the honourable member making such reference must make himself responsible for the accuracy of the statement contained in the newspaper report referred to by him.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: My present purpose in referring to the statement in the newspapers is purely to show that the two statements were published one before and the other immediately after the meeting; and I am referring to the fact of the publication for the purpose of drawing certain inferences from the attitude of silence adopted by the Government in regard to this very important matter. If you, Sir, think that even for this purpose, the statements are not to be referred to, I shall not make the reference; but I think for that limitted purpose I may refer to one or two important portions of the statements and its main feature for the purpose of showing to the honourable House the attempts that were really made by the Government at about the time of the meeting.

The statement published by Mr. Thanu Pillai the Chairman of the meeting was almost identical with the facts that I now mentioned here for the information of this House. The other statement which was issued, the day previous to the date of the meeting was, in effect, a description of the preparations that were made by the District Magistrate and other officers to collect rowdies to disturb the meeting. My only purpose in referring to this matter is to draw the pointed attention of the honourable members of the House to the very serious allegations that were made by very responsible persons, namely, the President and the conveners of the meeting. To this day all those allegations stand uncontradicted by the Government. Certainly it cannot be that these allegations have been treated by the Government as beneath their notice. In fact no Government can afford to ignore such allegations.

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If the allegations are unfounded those responsible for the statements have to be proceeded against. If, on the other hand, there is any truth in any of these allegations levelled against responsible officers of the Government, certainly it behoves the Government to take very serious notice of the conduct of these Officers and to deal with them very severely. To the knowledge of the public nothing appears to have been done so far against these officers; they are still in service and perhaps they are encouraged by promotions and other favours.

PRESIDENT: Honourable member is not entitled to make such sneering or disparaging references.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: All that I intended was that the Government do not appear to have taken any notice of the serious allegations against some of their responsible officers.

In regard to the incident at Nedunganda, the meeting there was on 5-11-1113.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I know whether the honourable member made any enquiries into the truth of the statement which he has referred to?

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: So far as I am concerned, no enquiry was necessary, because I was myself present at the spot, and I can vouch for the accuracy of every syllable of what I have said here. Every word of it is true. All the people present there, the whole crowd, have gone away with the impression that the officers concerned behaved very disgracefully. I am very sorry to remark like that—nevertheless the fact remains that no person who was present at the meeting could have left it without that impression, an impression which cannot be removed by any kind of counter-argument.

I was submitting, Sir, that the date of the Nedunganda meeting was the 5th of this month. The members of the State Congress were taken to the place by Mr. Vetoor Narayanan Vaidyan, one of the conveners of the meeting. He is a Director of the S. N. D. P. Yogam.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: One more question, Sir.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: I do not yield my place, Sir. After I finish all that I have to say, I shall answer all questions if time permits. My time is limited, and I fear I may not be able to finish all my points within the time allotted to me.

As I was saying, Sir, Mr. Vettoor Narayanan Vaidyan a very respectable person, came to Trivandrum and personally invited us. We reached Nedunganda a little late. As we were proceeding towards the place of the meeting, Mr. Narayanan Vaidyan was arrested by a Police officer, hand-cuffed and removed to the Warkala Police Station which is about 3 miles from that place. We learnt that his arrest had nothing to do with anything he did or omitted to do in respect of the meeting but that it was on a complaint of some theft or robbery filed by a private

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[Mr. T. M. Varughese.]

party after the meeting was announced in papers. To ensure his absence, a non-bailable warrant appears to have been issued for arresting him and he was arrested just at that psychological moment.

We went to the platform. There was a large crowd of over 5,000 people as I estimated it. Excepting two men who were obviously brought there by the Police the whole crowd was in complete sympathy with the State Congress and was very anxious to hear us. Between those two men there was one thing common, both of them were completely drunk. One of them, an elderly man, who I understand is a peon attached to one of the Aided Schools in the locality, came over to the place where we were seated and told Mr. Thanu Pillai, the President of the meeting, that he was not in favour of any attempt at responsible Government; he had all the seriousness that a drunken man can command. He further said that he would do all in his power to prevent our attempt at attaining responsible Government. Immediately, instinctively as it were, I turned towards the Policemen, about fifteen of whom were standing close by, to see for myself the attitude they were adopting. They were enjoying the humour. I found them laughing at us outright. The drunken peon approached the President and pulled him by the shirt. Mr. Thanu Pillai then called the Police men standing close by and requested that one of them might come forward and do the needful to prevent disturbance. The Police men remained mute without saying anything in reply to Mr. Thanu Pilla's request. But a rowdy standing by their side, Sankaran by name, told Mr. Thanu Pillai in reply that the Police men would not go to him unless Mr. Thanu Pillai put forward a definite request, preferably in writing. A minute later this rowdy was escorted by two Police men to the President's chair. They left him there and returned to their original position. This rowdy was armed with a long thick cane. He forcibly pushed Mr. Thanu Pillai from behind. It was really a strong blow and a push combined. Mr. Thanu Pillai would have fallen on the table and broken his head if he were not supported in time by some of us present by his side. As advised by his friends Mr. Thanu Pillai dispersed the meeting. A few yards away from the meeting place we waited for a while and enlisted some members to the State Congress. As we were returning we met in the adjacent compound, within a few yards from the place of meeting, the D. S. P. and some Police Inspectors who were evidently guiding the activities at the meeting place. We then proceeded to Warkalai, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles or so and after enquiries about Narayanan Vaidyan left the place. It has to be mentioned in this connection that an attempt appears to have been made at Warkalai to withhold all kinds of convenience to us. When we entered the coffee hotel and asked for refreshment and coffee even there we met with a refusal.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

With regard to the incident at Shertalai, I was not myself present there. I heard about it from reliable sources. It was a meeting of the Ezhava Youth League. During the meeting incidental reference was, no doubt, made to responsible Government. A set of rowdies who, I understand, were all Christians entered the meeting place shouting that nothing about responsible Government should be uttered there and that no discussion about responsible Government should be had. Immediately, the meeting had to be dispersed on account of the confusion thus created. Police men entered the place and taking advantage of the confusion, indiscriminately assaulted the assemblage with lathies. That appears to be the incident at Shertalai. These are the three incidents I have to refer to in connection with the adjournment motion now tabled for discussion. The honourable members have seriously to consider the situation that is created by these incidents. It behoves us to consider whether there is any systematic plan or deliberate motive behind these incidents. We have also seriously to consider whether the circumstance that the activities of the State Congress members are viewed with disfavour by the authorities will justify this kind of treatment being accorded to them. The State Congress is not an illegal Association. The members of that body are as much entitled to the protection of law as any other people in the land. Safeguarding their life and property as those of any other citizen is certainly a matter of vital importance. If the honourable members of the House think that the affairs of the country have come to such a pass as to reduce us to the position of helpless onlookers at such flagrant violations of our fundamental rights of citizenship then it is time for us to consider whether we deserve to style ourselves representatives of the people. The Police officers present at the spot were directly responsible for all the confusion that arose at the meetings. As a representative of the people and as a responsible citizen I shall be failing in my duty if I do not unhesitatingly place for the consideration of the House my honest conviction that with a shrewd, intelligent and experienced administrator like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar at the head of affairs the subordinate officers would not have dared to perpetrate these atrocities without his knowledge and authotity. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to place before him the matter in all its seriousness with the honest conviction that the irregularities complained of cannot have happened without his knowledge. I place before him the real situation and say that the whole thing has been done with his authority.

If he were not behind these Police activities I am sure the Commissioner of Police would never have dared to do such a thing in Travancore. I would therefore place this matter before the honourable members and earnestly ask them whether the situation does not deserve their serious consideration. I would appeal to the members to see whether it is not our duty to mend matters before it is too late. It is open to you to say that the activities of the State Congress are not all well advised, that responsible Government as asked for could not now be given, that when given the channel through which it should reach

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. T. M. Varughese.]

the people should be different and that the methods adopted by the State Congress for the attainment of Responsible Government are not right. All this I can understand. But I fail to see any justification or excuse for the open acts of rowdyism displayed against us by and through the officers of Government.

Ever since the State Congress published their programme of work for carrying on propaganda, insults and assaults were being systematically levelled against them individually and collectivelly. The Police officers incite rowdies to create confusion wherever meetings are held. Are our activities such as could be or ought to be defeated by rowdyism, I ask. I place these matters for the serious consideration of the members of the House.

There is another aspect of the matter. The plea for responsible Government in Travancore is not of recent origin. It has been in existence for a long time. As a matter of fact the present agitation for responsible Government is but a natural growth and the soil is quite congenial. No doubt, honestly feeling that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was opposed either to the creation or existence of conditions in which responsible Government could take root or thrive, the working Committee of the State Congress issued a statement to the effect that the retention of his services as Dewan was detrimental to the interests of the State and that his service should be terminated. It can in no way be argued that the publication of this statement is a disloyal act. There is no justification to say that it is a subversive move. This statement was published by us on the 8th May. The circular referred to by the Chief Secretary is dated the 21st June. That was a Government circular. It could never be said that our statement was published in anticipation of a circular that was going to be published on the 21st June, nor could it be contended that the Police committed these illegal acts on account of our statement. Under these circumstances may I submit one thing. Let us not overlook the logic of events that stare us in the face. Responsible Government must and will come here as elsewhere in India. Let us not therefore create circumstances which will only serve to take away the grace out of the matter.

Opinion is held in certain quarters that the organisation to ask for responsible Government should not be the State Congress as at present constituted. Well, the State Congress may or may not be a fit body to fight for responsible Government. There may be other organisations now in existence or hereafter to be created which may be safely entrusted with the task of asking for and getting responsible Government. But all that the State Congress are particular about is that the responsible Government granted must be one that is really responsible. It must really reach the people. If this is achieved we are prepared to ignore and forgive the unjust attempts directed against the State Congress with a view to stifle it. If the State congress movement really stands for the good of the country there need be no anxiety about its future. The workers of the State Congress may be victimised,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

but let me inform the House that the State congress will soon be in a position to take care of them and the people will take care of the State Congress. Before I close, it is only one more matter that I want to place for the earnest consideration of the House. It is not too late for us to mend matters, if only we put our heads together keeping the interests of our country in view. If we do so it is not material when responsible Government comes to us or what the agency through which it comes in. The State Congress while not being anxious to monopolise all agitation for responsible Government is sure to exert itself to the utmost in that direction until real responsible Government worth the name is established in the land. The struggle will go on in spite of all obstacles, contempt and danger and prejudice.

PRESIDENT : The question for discussion is open and lawless encouragement of rowdyism by Police and not Responsible Government.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE : The whole thing verges round the State Congress. It touches the activities of the State Congress. With the permission of the Chair, I would emphasise the circumstance that with a view to curb the activities of the State Congress acts of open aggression and violence were resorted to against the workers of the Congress. Some of whom happen to be elected representatives of the people. The situation in the country has reached this unfortunate stage. No doubt the State Congress has as its objective the attainment of responsible Government.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will please remember that the question before the House is open and lawless encouragement of rowdyism by the Police and not *Responsible Government.*

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE : Therefore, I would suggest for the consideration of the House that lawlessness and Rowdyism that are found to be rampant in the country and were displayed in connection with the meetings held at Neyyattinkara, Nedunganda and Shertallai are matters that deserve the consideration of this House. Some of them may be looked upon as stray acts intended against the State Congress and its members. But these outrages can never stand by themselves without producing really far reaching consequences. Their repurcussions will affect the whole country and its people. It is high time that we as self-respecting citizens view these circumstances dispassionately and find out a remedy on the lines suggested by me. With that hope, I commend this motion for the consideration of the House

MR. P. NANOO (*Chirayinkil* cum *Nedumangad*) : Sir, in moving the motion standing in my name, I wish to endorse every word said by Mr. Varghese. My motion reads thus :

> "I intend to ask for leave to make a motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance *viz.*, the situation created in the country by the unwarranted and illegal interference and neglect of duty of the Police and other executive officers in a meeting of the Travancore State Congress assembled at Nedunganda in Chirayinkil taluk on 5-11-1113."

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. P. Nanoo.]

I am one who comes from the locality. I was an eye witness to the incident that took place at Nedunganda, I can with boldness say that whatever was said about the incident there is only true and nothing but true. I am not therefore going to repeat what has already been said. The first rowdy that was referred to by Mr. Varughese was one Sinkara Velu. He is employed in an institution recognised by Government and it is to be noted that he is even now in service. The person who preferred the complaint against the Vaidyan is one Sultan Pillai. This man approached the Varkalai Police towards the beginning of this month with a petition connected with some of his property. The police influenced that man and at their instance and suggestion a complaint has been instituted and a warrant obtained against the Vaidyan. That Sultan Pillay is another notorious rowdy. Mr. Varughese omitted to mention one important fact. I shall place that fact also before the House. When Mr. Thanu Pillai and party left the meeting place by boat cocoanut husks were thrown at them. That was done by Sinkara Velu and that in the presence of the police, two inspectors, a dozen constables and the D. S. P. No doubt, they were fully responsible for this incident. With these words I commend this motion for the acceptance of the House.

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: I have great pleasure in supporting this motion. There is a feeling in the country that our Police are not able to check the rowdy elements in this country or rather they are let loose in public meetings. The inference is not arbitrary, but drawn from circumstances brought to light. Reliable reports confirm the impression that several meetings at different places where loyal citizens of the State met just to express their free opinion, on certain legal and constitutional matters which have not been prohibited by the Government, have been disturbed and molested by the rowdies in the presence of the Police Officers and they were encouraging such hooliganism of these rowdies. It is a matter to be noted that these rowdies were found in the police list, *i. e.*, they had to be noted always by the Police. It is to be regretted that these Police officers were not giving a theck to their hooliganism in public meetings even though they were requested to do so. It is also reported that in places where these meetings are held, several Poilce officers in addition to the local Police are brought down with a view to disperse these meetings. I do not know why these Police officers are got down on special duty to such peaceful meetings. It is to be regretted that the Police have not been checking these rowdyism even though they were requested to do so by those responsible for conducting the meetings. After the report of the assault on Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai has been published in newspapers I had occasion to meet several citizens of my constituency. They requested me one and all not to go to Trivandrum and not to attend or address any meeting there, because they thought, that my person would be assaulted on the public road. That is the impression of the people there. It is very unhappy to note that after the meeting in Shertallai was dispersed by the interference of the rowdies that the police

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

beat the poor people who assembled, on the way out of the hall. Is this maintaining peace and order in public meetings Sir, I ask. The peaceful people who went out of the hall were beaten.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: May I know whether the member attended that meeting ?

MR. N. NARAYANA KURUP: I enquired into this matter. The meeting was conducted in my constituency. Even though I did not attend the meeting those people who attended the meeting and who received blows came and reported the matter to me. As a representative of that constituency I went to the spot and enquired fully into the matter. The irresistable inference is Sir, that either the police were unable to check the rowdies or they were also conniving at such hooliganisms. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue any longer in our State I fear that a time will come when the Police will be unable to check the rowdy elements. I pray that such an occasion does not arise in our State. With these observations I commend this motion to the acceptance of the House.

MR. KOTTALIL P. ABRAHAM: Sir, In view of the serious allegations against the Police contained in the adjournment motions and in the speeches made by their movers and their supporters on the non-official side, I request the Chair that before the discussion proceeds further the official member, the Police Commissioner, may be asked to speak next, especially with regard to the facts stated by the movers.

PRESIDENT: The right to call upon any member to speak is vested in the Chair.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Sir, we have just now heard certain allegations made by the Police and side by side regarding the State Congress policy and its aspirations. As I did yesterday, I put in an introduction that I took charge of the Department only a week ago and I take shelter under the fact that I can answer all these things only from enquiries made. Since I took charge of the Department a week back I have spent anxious moments over this question. I have received reports after reports and I have come to certain conclusions which I am placing before the House as coming from an absolutely impartial mind.

From the speeches we have heard from the other side we see that there were two parties everywhere. It is said that in their meetings there was the so-called rowdyism. So whereever they go there is another party and the State Congress party, as we call them.

MR. P. J. SEBASTIAN (*Changanacherry* cum *Peermade*): I want to put a question. May I know.....

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: I refuse to yield, Sir. The question I am dealing with is serious. Everywhere there are two sides. I have enquired of both sides and I place before the House the conclusions arrived at. The analysis stands thus. We have heard what the State Congress party has to say. As I said yesterday, if one tenth of what they say is true, the Commissioner of Police should bow his head in

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao.]

shame. If one tenth of what is said is true, then this land should not be called the land of charity. But I can assure the members that even one tenth of what have been said is not true. It is all exaggeration, making us to view things in coloured spectacles. We have heard the other side yesterday and today. I have not been able to go on circuit since my taking charge. I have been tackled with Assembly work. But I think I can boldly make some assertions before this House as regards the conclusions arrived at by me. This is the other side. I request that I may be heard uninterrupted. The so-called State Congress professes to have *ahimsa*, the principle of that famous spiritual leader Mahatma Gandhi. Now what is meant by *ahimsa*? It means causing no trouble either by word, thought or deed. That is called *ahimsa*. He has spread that principle throughout the world. There is no doubt about it. The State Congress party wear that white cap which stands as a symbol of that cult. But is there anything more than that? Is there the act? You heard what they said yesterday and what they said today. You have heard them say that they have passed a resolution that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan selected by His Highness the Maharaja, should be sent away.

PRESIDENT: I would inform the honourable member not to deal with names though it is not done so deliberately. Interpretations were not needed by the Police Commissioner. I would have stopped the honourable member who spoke irrelevant and objectionable things about Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. But as I happen to be Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar I allowed him to have his say. But insinuations and irrelevant statements made by one member does not enable even the Commissioner of Police to defend Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who is able to defend himself in other ways and in other places. I trust that there will be no question as to whether Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar should go or stay.

Mr. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: I bow to the decision of the Chair. I mentioned it only because the other side mentioned about it.

PRESIDENT: The other side had the advantage of the latitude that it was open to them to attack a person who happens to be the President. That was my helplessness. But I do not think that the attitude taken by the non-official members is justification for the Commissioner of Police to defend me and I do not want to be defended in that way.

Mr. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: They went to Madras and passed resolutions that the finances of the State is going to dogs. In this connection, I may say that I have had 17 year's service in the Accounts Department here, 5 years in the Land Revenue Department, and then I was Account Officer and Financial Secretary, though today I stand before the House as Commissioner of Police. It is I who prepared the budget for this year. In preparing the budget I have dived deep into the budgets of the State for the last 30 years. I can boldly say that the finances of the State are as steady as if not steadier than any

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

State in India. Our receipts are going up. There are various industrial schemes, and they are all paying propositions. This I have said now as Financial Secretary and not as Commissioner of Police.

Now, where is the cult of the real Congress? The cult is to be seen only in the dress.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I rise to a point of order whether it is permissible for an official member to refer to the dress of other members.

PRESIDENT: It is permissible to refer to dress if it is adopted as symbolic.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: I have referred to the cult. If that cult is to be observed, if that sacredness is to be observed, then they should not trouble anybody by their word, thought or deed. The resolutions they have passed show how far they have adopted that noble principle of *ahimsa*. I leave it to the House to see whether the ideal of *ahimsa* has been observed by this party. To speak ill of a department and to spread deliberate scandals about responsible officers of Government is not certainly *ahimsa*. (*Laughter.*)

The other thing is about their subversive activities. This can be clearly shown by the nature of the resolution which they have passed in certain meetings. The resolution says that they want to overthrow this Government, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja. So their intention is definitely to overthrow the present Government. If this is not subversive I do not understand what else is subversive. Now about their disloyalty. If one's intention is subversive, then it automatically follows that he is disloyal to the established Government of His Highness the Maharaja. Sir, this has been proved at every stage of their activities and by their very acts.

They themselves say there are two parties, rather, two sides in the country and they also say that they represent the State Congress party and they have got many members. They are getting down foreigners here to guide and instruct them in their activities. Their membership ranges from the sweeper to the shop-keeper. If anybody is prepared to pay 4 as. he becomes a member of the Congress; the majority of these members do not know what responsible Government is or the implication of responsibility and irresponsibility. Now-a-days their activities are going on here in Trivandrum itself. But I am not interfering with them in any way, and I have given strict instructions to the department not to interfere with their activities. Now I have done with these two points relating to subversiveness and disloyalty of that party.

Sir, a certain member who belongs to that party said that all are loyal in this land and there is no necessity for a loyalist party. But I may say, Sir, that the so-called State Congress is an organisation which has only a handful of disgruntled men. I say, Sir, that disloyalty is the real spirit of the party, but what the people of the land should possess is the real spirit, the absolute spirit of loyalty. I am sure all will agree with me when I say we are all loyal and we should be all loyal. But I also said that there should be some reason somewhere for

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao.]

all this. I went to the root of the matter and I found out that it is the question of hunger—unemployment among the educated class. That is the root and the branch of the whole problem. (*Laughter.*) We hear in newspapers that there are millions of unemployed in England and in America, and we have got our few thousands of unemployed here, and they cannot all be served with the loaves and fishes of of Government office.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will remember that he has got only a limited time.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Sir, I was saying that it is difficult for the Government to distribute offices and appointments to these few thousands. Even if Jesus who fed a thousand with five loaves and seven fishes comes over here, He will find it difficult to distribute the Government posts to all of them.

MR. C. JEBAMONY NADAR: Is the honourable member justified in referring to a religious leader?

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Sir, I was saying that even if Jesus were to come today with his five loaves, he will not be able to feed these unemployed.

Sir, now I come to the alleged activities of the police through rowdies. We have all heard here about the meetings which were held at Neyyattinkara, Nedunganda and Shertallai. But I ask the honourable members opposite, what about the Trivandrum meeting? There was at Trivandrum such a big procession headed by even one of the retired Government servants, from the Van Ross bungalow to the Thampanoor Central Station maidan. If the police wanted to create any disturbance at that meeting, they had all the resources at hand. They had their Reserve batch with guns and lathies and all that. But what did they do? They did nothing, and saw that the meeting passed off peacefully. Now I ask again those gentlemen why did they omit in referring to the Chengannur meeting?

MR. K. T. THOMAS: Sir, on a point of order. Was it not ruled by the Chair that discussion on the Chengannur meeting was *sub judice*?

PRESIDENT: Certainly.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Sir, I only referred to it. The main complaint from the leader of the State Congress party seems to be that at a certain meeting somebody pulled his shirt or somebody else pushed him from behind. Sir, these are all too silly to be taken notice of and the Police certainly could not have seen it done. And if the gentleman had any complaint about this, did he prefer it to any of the responsible Police Officers, to the Commissioner or to the D. S. P.? Did he go and talk the matter to the District Magistrate? No; and what did he do? He simply rushed out from the meeting and published a statement. Sir, this kind of behaviour has become the vogue of the day. With regard to the Neyyattinkara meeting, I have learnt from enquiry

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

that the rowdies were on the side of the State Congress and not this side. The report is like that. Now let us come to the conclusion that there were rowdies on both sides and there was a loyalist party as well.

MR. S. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil cum Nedumangad*): Does the loyalist party include rowdies as well ?

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: There may be. Sir, a reference was made to another meeting which passed off peacefully at Neyyattinkara. Sir, in fact all meetings were permitted to go on peacefully and the Police or the Government did not interfere with these meetings. Moreover, Sir, there is a duty implied with regard to a citizen to bring to light any act of injustice on the part of the Government officials and much more so to report to Government such acts. In this case did they raise even their little finger? Nothing was done by them. They only published statements. Sir, the police are provided with good long lathies and if any occasion arises they need not pull down men by their shirts or push them from behind. On the face of these statements their allegations seem to be silly. I can understand if they said that there was a lathy charge. The complaints brought forward are too silly to believe.

MR. M. G. MATTHEW: Sir, on a point of order. Sir, the member has been using the word "silly" very freely. May I know whether it is a parliamentary expression ?

PRESIDENT: I have been looking at it and I shall give a ruling presently. The honourable member will avoid the term till I give a ruling.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Yes, Sir. I have dealt with all points, and from enquiries made by me I have come to the conclusion that the Government or the Police had no hand in disturbing any meeting of the State Congress party.

MR. T. C. KESAVA PILLAI: സർ, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഇന്നു പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിലുള്ള രാഷ്ട്രീയമനോഭാവം രണ്ടു മാസങ്ങൾക്കു മുൻപ് ഇവിടെയുണ്ടായിരുന്നതുപോലെയല്ല. രണ്ടു മാസങ്ങൾക്കുമുൻപ് ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നതായ രാഷ്ട്രീയാന്തരീക്ഷത്തിലെ ചില സംഗതികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചാണ് ഇന്നു ഇവിടെ അടിയന്തിരപ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധിയുടെ വിശിഷ്ടമായ ആദർശങ്ങൾ പരിശുദ്ധമായ രീതിയിൽ അനുകരിച്ച് നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകുന്നപക്ഷം അതു അനുകരിച്ച അതുകൊണ്ട് തീർച്ചയായും ത്യാഗിവര്യന്മാരായിരിക്കണം. ഷർട്ട് പിടിച്ചു വലിച്ചാലോ പല്ലുടിച്ചു പൊട്ടിച്ചാലോ തലയടിച്ചു കീറിയാലോ യാതൊന്നും അതിനെപ്പറ്റി അവർ പറയാൻ പാടില്ല. സ്റ്റേറ്റ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സിൽ ചേരാത്തതും സർക്കാർ അല്ലാത്തതുമായ മധ്യത്തിൽ നിൽക്കുന്നവരെന്നപ്പോലെയുള്ള അതുകൊണ്ട് അതു ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള സംഗതികളെ സംബ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. T. C. Kesava Pillai]

സ്ഥിച്ച് പൊലീസ് കമ്മീഷണരോട് പരാതി പറയേണ്ടതു്. മഹാവിഷ്ണു യഥാർത്ഥഭക്തന്മാക്കു മോക്ഷം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെ തന്നെ നിഷ്ഠുരകമായി യുദ്ധം ചെയ്ത വൈരികൾക്കും മോക്ഷം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. യഥാർത്ഥസ്റ്റേറ്റുകോൺഗ്രസ്സുംഗങ്ങളും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പൗരാവകാശം സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ശക്തിമത്തായി നിയമവിരുദ്ധമല്ലാത്ത രീതിയിൽ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ നന്മക്കും രാജ്യവാസികളുടെ ക്ഷേമത്തിനുംവേണ്ടി പ്രക്ഷോഭണം നടത്തണമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ചില്ലറ കായ്ങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി ഇവിടെ വന്നു പറയാതെ അവരുടെ ജോലി മുറയ്ക്കു ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കേണ്ടതാണു.

ഉത്തരവാദിതപ്രഭരണസ്ഥാപനത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം, സ്റ്റേറ്റുകോൺഗ്രസ് വഴിയോ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറേതെങ്കിലും വഴിയിലൊ സമ്പാദിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു ചുമതല നമുക്കുണ്ടു്. ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള ഒരു പ്രമേയം വോട്ടിനായി ഈ അസംബ്ലിയിൽ വന്നു് ഞാൻ അതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നപക്ഷം എനിക്കു കല്ലേറു കൂടാതെ പോകാനൊക്കുകയില്ല. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പ്രജകൾക്കു് ഉത്തരവാദിതപ്രഭരണം വേണമെന്നാഗ്രഹമുണ്ടു്; അതു് സ്റ്റേറ്റുകോൺഗ്രസ് വഴിതന്നെ വേണോ അതല്ലാ മറേതെങ്കിലും വഴിയിൽക്കൂടി വേണോ എന്നതു നാം നിശ്ചയിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. സ്റ്റേറ്റുകോൺഗ്രസ് മീറ്റിംഗിൽ റൌഡികളെക്കൊണ്ടു് ബഹളം കൂട്ടുന്നപക്ഷം സ്റ്റേറ്റുകോൺഗ്രസ്സിലെ ത്യാഗബുദ്ധിമില്ലാത്തയാളുകൾ രക്തപ്രവാഹത്തിനു ഇടവരുത്തുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ അതു് പോലീസ് കമ്മീഷണർക്കോ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനോ അഭിമാനകരമായ ഒരു സംഗതി അല്ല. നിയമസഭാമെംബറന്മാരിൽ ഏതാനും ചിലരുടെ മുഖത്തുനോക്കി ആക്ഷേപസൂചകമായ ചില പ്രസ്താവനകൾ പോലീസ്കമ്മീഷണർ ഇവിടെ നടത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു് ആ വാക്കുകളെ അദ്ദേഹം പിൻവലിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. (ഹിയർ, ഹിയർ.) ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചോ ഉത്തരവാദിതപ്രഭരണം സംബന്ധിച്ചോ വാഗ്വാദം ചെയ്യുന്ന കൂട്ടത്തിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിനേയോ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനേയോ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ചില വ്യക്തികളെയോ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ രാജഭക്തസംഘം എന്നു പറയുന്ന ആളുകളേയോകുറിച്ചു് ആക്ഷേപകരമായ യാതൊരു പ്രസ്താവനകളും മഹാനായ പട്ടം താണുപിള്ള അവർകൾ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട സംഘം ചെയ്തതായി എന്നു ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനോടും അപേക്ഷിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ പ്രജകളെല്ലാംകൂടി യോജിച്ചു് മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ തിരുമു

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ന്മിൽ നമ്മുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങളെ അറിയിച്ച് സചിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ ഒരു രാജിയായി തീർത്ത് ശരിപ്പെടുത്തണമെന്ന പേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് വിരമിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Sir, a good deal has been said here about the State Congress by the officer of the Government who is responsible, in a very large measure, for the maintence of peace and order in this State. He gave us a rather lengthy speech on the activities of what he calls the so called State Congress. Sir, I have seen the expression "so called State Congress" in publications issued by Government as well. I am here now as the leader of a party called the State Congress Party and that party has been constituted as the result of a decision of the State Congress. That party has been recognised here and now I wonder what the Police Commissioner means by sticking to the original mode of talking, namely the "so-called State Congress".

PRESIDENT: So-called means called so, what else.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Yes, Sir. In that case, I may also call him the so-called Commissioner of Police.

PRESIDENT: Certainly.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: And then may we call the Government the so-called Government of Travancore though I should personally be reluctant to do so. The so-called Police Commissioner admitted that if one tenth of what has been stated here by members of this House, I mean by members of my party, is true the so-called Police Commissioner should hang his head in shame. As a son of the soil and as a man who has worked in his own humble way for the good of the country, I am very sorry to say that not only one tenth, but the whole of what I have said here is true, and that the Police Commissioner should bow his head in shame not for one day, but so long as he has life. The country —I am sorry to express it—the country ceases to be a country of justic, as the Police Commissioner himself admits. What is the treatment accorded to non-official members? There can be differences of opinion on political issues between the Government and the public. But in a simple matter as this when I come to this House and say that I was treated in such and such a manner by two rowdies in the presence of the police, the so-called Police Commissioner is not willing to give credence to my statement. He cannot believe it. We have come to such a pass: Why? evidently not because I am dishonest, not because the so-called Police Commissioner believes that I am dishonest. I can see that. He says so because he is an official member. Why should he be here? Is it to tell me 'I don't believe you". My constituency should discard me, if I don't do justice to myself and to this House as a member of this House. If on a simple matter like this my statement cannot be accepted by the House for what purpose have I served in this legislature, I am inclined to question. I was one of the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

[Mr. A. Thanu Pillai.]

men present on the occasion at Neduganada. One of the rowdies pulled my shirt in the presence of the policemen who would not move even after my request; and when I mention this on the floor of this House am I to be disbelieved? I have the thought running in my mind as to what I should do under these circumstances. Are we to take it that the so-called Police Commissioner can not understand the feelings of a non official, a son of the soil, who wants to serve his country faithfully in situations like this. He says that the complaints are silly. I ask him, are the complaints silly or his statement silly or is he silly in making the statement? Let this House answer. I know that the ultimate fate of this motion will be like that of yesterday's. But I am not sorry. There are situations in which even the decisions of the High Courts have gone wrong. It is not a rare thing. In an assemblage of persons constituted like our Assembly, one can easily understand, so long as the Government wields power for good or evil, that the decision of this House is in a particular way.

PRESIDENT: Order, Order. It is unparliamentary to reflect on the conduct of this House.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Sir, I do not pursue it.

PRESIDENT: The Honourable member will withdraw this statement.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Yes.

PRESIDENT: Shall I take it that it is withdrawn.

MR. A THANU PILLAI: Yes, Sir, I would refer to the Police Commissioner's speech in some of its aspects. Sir, coming to the State Congress, he says, that we passed a resolution to the effect that we want to overthrow the Government. I challenge him to substantiate that statement. Yesterday I put the question to the Chief Secretary to Government —to whom else am I to put that question—as to whether the Government considered it disloyal or subversive to carry on a movement for the establishment of responsible Government in the State. He gave no answer to that question. The State Congress stands for the establishment of full responsible Government in the State under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. I am the President of that organisation. I wish to know whether Government consider the members of this organisation as disloyal and subversive. I am as well a member of this House and I am supposed to help the Government of the country. Have I not a right to know whether the object of my organisation is loyal or disloyal, subversive or otherwise? I have a right to know this from the Governmet. The Government have to tell me in honesty and fairness. I am a human being, I am not made of steel and wood. I have got feelings. I am expected to co-operate with Government. I wish to know whether the object of the organisation called the State Congress is considered by Government to be disloyal. The so-called Police Commissioner says that it is disloyal. I would be the last man to work for the over-throw of the Government of this country. I ask, Sir, how he has substantiated it, in fairness to the organisation and to me and to my friends and to this House. He ought to have told us why he made that statement. Is it our programme? Where has he seen anything to that

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

effect what is it that justifies that assertion? Sir, I am again pained to see that the statement comes not from one who is unconnected with law and order, but from the so called Police Commissioner. I again pause for an answer from the official benches why they consider that the State Congress is disloyal. I must say that the Police Commissioner is not true to the salt that he eats. He should be really silly to say that unless he has got justifying grounds unless he can put forward something to base his assertion on.—

PRESIDENT: The Honourable member has five minutes more.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Yes, Sir, Thank you. Sir, the Police Commissioner says we talk of *ahimsa*, *ahimsa* in thought, word and deed that we are not paragons of this virtue. We shall take care of ourselves. But is he and are his police perfect paragons of these virtues?

PRESIDENT: Is that meant in his official or personal capacity?

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Sir, in his official capacity, because I am not concerned with his non-official capacity.

PRESIDENT: The language was ambiguous.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Thank you Sir. Certainly, we have adopted the policy of *ahimsa* and that is borne out completely by our conduct in the meetings where the police encouraged rowdies to create disturbance. He referred to the peaceful meetings at Trivandrum and at Neyyattinkara the other day, where no disturbance was caused. No disturbance was caused at these meetings because, probably for various reasons, for various difficulties, for various limitations of even the Government and the police force and the agents that might be used for causing disturbance at the meetings, it was likely that those meetings could not be disturbed. But I learn now that the Police Inspector who was stationed at Neyyattinkara at the time of the meeting there was some how or other transferred from that station within a day or two of that meeting.

MR. T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI: One question.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: No question, Sir, because I have got only two minutes.

Sir, it will be seen that we are pursuing a policy of *ahimsa*. The Police Commissioner says that it is silly to say that one man pushed me. It is not silly. It is because of our *akramarahithyam* that nothing tragic took place there. At Nedunganda when this happened the people grew restive. It was because of our non-violence that we were able to disperse the meeting. The so called Police Commissioner would not have called this silly if it were not really non-violent. He calls it silly, but, on the other hand, he ought to be thankful to us and not call us silly.

Then Sir, he mentioned as a ground for calling our organisation disloyal, that we went to Madras to do propaganda there. Yes. We went to Madras. We did some propaganda also but under what circumstances. Is the so called Commissioner of Police aware of them? The State Congress was formed on the 17th of February 1938.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, May I know whether all these are relevant?

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I wonder why my friend did not put this question to the so called Police Commissioner when he referred to our trip to Madras.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. The honourable member has exceeded his time.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I want a minute more.

MR. PUTHUPALLI S. KRISHNA PILLAI: I rise to a point of order. It is certainly not parliamentary for one member to impute motives to another member. Mr. Thanu Pillai, in referring to Mr. Sivathanu Pillai's question, was asking why he did not put a similar question to the Police Commissioner, thus imputing partiality towards the Police Commissioner. That, I submit, is unparliamentary.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: May I answer him, Sir?

PRESIDENT: You may, if you want to lose the opportunity of speaking on the motion before the House.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Then I shall not answer him. The first prohibitory order banning the meetings of the State Congress party was passed on the 6th March 1938 on the ground that there was a counter party, that there would be confusion and breach of the peace if meetings were held. So, we were not allowed to hold a single meeting in the State.

You know, Sir, the condition of the Press here. Everybody knows the actual condition of the Press here. If I have a view to express, if I have a complaint to make, if I have to make myself heard, if I have to make the people of the country understand the meaning of the organisation, that we formed its objects and its aims, there was no means of doing it. The Press could not do it for fear of suppression. Meetings were prohibited arbitrarily without any justification whatsoever. I moved the Magistrate to allow me to let in evidence to show that there was no justifications for banning meetings. He said that his order was an executive order and not a judicial order, and that he won't take evidence. Where then can I express my views? I cannot hold a single meeting. Did he wait to see whether there was any disturbance at any meeting? Absolutely not. Then the papers here were all cowed down and afraid of their license being cancelled. The other day I wanted a letter to be printed as the President of the State Congress. The printer said—"Sir, I have got instructions not to print to the name of the State Congress." Really, that was the situation even from the very beginning. What could I do? Madras was far away and the press there was not available to us who were here. The local press—really there was none. Meetings were banned by the District Magistrate. I with some of my friends went to Madras. We interviewed some of the editors of the papers there.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Biographical details are not relevant.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: That was why we went to Madras. We did something there. The Police Commissioner cannot blame us for that. The necessity for it was caused by Government. At any rate, we would not have done it if conditions were normal in this State. Sir, he referred to some other things regarding the Congress.

PRESIDENT: I shall allow the honourable member two minutes more.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: He said, Sir, we abused people. All that is easily said. If the Chairman will allow me time I can answer him.

PRESIDENT: No, no.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: My submisson is where is it that we abused. We may condemn the conduct or action of the Government. We may say that what Government did was wrong. It may affect any person in authority it does not matter. The question is whether we are within our rights as citizens of the State to express our views. That does not mean subverting the Government. Probably the so called Police Commissioner thinks that he is an unavoidable limp of the Government of Travancore. It is not so. Anybody may change. The Government of Travancore is something impersonal. It ought to be impersonal in reality as well. It is a travesty of truth to say that our activities were subversive. Then he says that there are two parties and that is the cause of this trouble. There are no two parties in fact. Wherever we have held meetings he says, one party comes and obstructs. What is that party? It is the drunken rowdy. Of course, there are people of that kind and they are set up by the police. Some notorious rowdies, very often from the police lock-up, come and cause disturbance or rather are made to cause disturbance.

Then he also accuses us of enlisting sweepers as members of the State Congress. Sir, it is true and sweepers are as much citizens and are as valuable as the police commissioner.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member has exceeded his time.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI (*Changanacherry* cum *Peermade*): Sir, I oppose the motion before the House. When I was first told by somebody that there was an idea of an adjournment motion of this sort being moved in this Assembly; I did not believe it. I had thought that after all that has happened in this country, it was impossible for a member of the State Congress to have the moral courage to bring forward such a motion for the acceptance of the House. The day before yesterday we heard Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai eloquent about his honesty. I have known Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai for a long time and I know he is honest every inch. Sir, but honesty is not the monopoly of Mr. Thanu Pillai. Honest individuals are not rare. They can be found throughout the length and breadth of the country. Now let me ask an honest question and request an honest answer—who has been the author of the vast, obscene vulgar propaganda that is being carried on in the country?

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MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I wish to know what that obscene propaganda is?

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I absolutely refuse to speak those obscenities in this Assembly. Everyone knows what they are. Every one who moves about in this country with open eyes and ears has heard and seen those things, and if Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai says he does not know what I mean I will have to doubt his honesty. We know he knows it. Everyone in this country knows that the most respectable people, people whom the whole country worship, have been pulled down by obscene words. I ask—who did it? Day before yesterday we heard allegations, implications, insinuations by some members of the State Congress. Today the real leader of the State Congress has told us the name of the person whom they believe to be behind the troubles. I in return ask, are the obscene notices that are stuck on the walls along the main road stuck there by the command of Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai? Are all those obscene things spoken shamelessly in all the motor buses and teashops and hotels at the command of Mr. T. M. Varghese? Let us not mention names. Let us not speak from imagination. Let us face facts and talk about facts only.

Sir, in Travancore we have got a Police Department, which everybody has said, is not perfect. I am not one who has at any time spoken in support of that Department. If those un-happy things that happened at the various meetings had the connivance of the Police Department, then I will be the first to condemn those actions along with the members of the State Congress. But that is not the question. Have the State Congress members the moral justification, the moral courage, to bring forward this resolution before this House for its acceptance? What have they done? If it is possible to suppose that the police officials and the Government are behind all these occurrences, whether they are personal outrages, loss of property or disturbances at meetings where members of the State Congress were gathered, is it not equally possible to believe that all the opposite activities have been at the instance of the State Congress? Why not? Why don't you believe that it was T. M. Varughese or Mr. Thanu Pillai that assaulted and sent to the hospital the Secretary of the Hindu Loyalists Association.

MR. T. M. VARUGHESE: Did the member intend to refer to me as Mr. T. M Varughese?

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I said Mr. T. M. Varughese and if I omitted to say Mr., I tender my apology.

Sir, I want to emphasise one point. Active political agitation has been going on in India at least for the past 20 years. We know that there have been charges by the police on the people and that hundreds and thousands of them have been subject to lathi charges and even firing by the police. There have been broken limbs and loss of life. There have been very dark and tragic incidents. The whole thing has been apparent to the whole world. But, I ask, has there been on any

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occasion any press communique from the Government of India, for the matter of that from any Government, so honest, so mercilessly honest, as the one recently published by the Government of Travancore. The Government of Travancore have stated in plain terms that if the mischief had been done by the Police Department, they have no sympathy for it. Of course, the State Congress party may not be satisfied with that. But looking at the press communique any unprejudiced critic will find that the Government have been excepting honest and have censured the Police in unmistakable terms. I can say that within my memory no other Government has come down to this level and said things which are generally supposed to be against the very prestige, the very honour of Government and condemned the Police who acted rightly or wrongly under the belief that they had Government support. Will the State Congress do like that and confess their share of the wrong? Therefore, if it is a question of public honesty or political honesty Government have shown this honesty in a much greater degree than the members and supporters of the State Congress.

Now, what is the real complaint here? The police did not prevent the rowdies from interrupting the meetings. I ask the question—what right has the State Congress to expect the police to interfere? The police always think—and it is only natural that they think so—whenever a party is organised against any Government, whenever a party is engaged in agitations against any Government, it is a party deserving of their animosity. And none after the Government have told the members of the State Congress to their face. "You are disloyal. You are engaged in subversive activities," what is the meaning of expecting the police to come and kiss them as fond mothers? After proclaiming to the world that they are the step-children of the Indian National Congress, after having put on a piece of cloth which till two days back they would have barked at, what is the meaning of.—

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: On a point of order. What the member said about the dress is not considered parliamentary.

PRESIDENT: What is the unparliamentary expression?

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Putting on something which we would have barked at.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I said that they have taken to a cloth at the sight of which they used to bark till some two days back.

PRESIDENT: I hope the honourable member will withdraw it.

MR. KAINIKKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI: I withdraw it, Sir.

Therefore, Sir, after having done all sorts of mischief, having chosen those particular spots where such things were possible, and where they knew such things would happen, what is the meaning of their coming forward to this House and saying—"Our life is in peril. The mischief is being perpetrated by the Police." That they have been the root-cause of all this mischief they must admit, if they have that wonderful quality over which Mr. Pattom was priding the other day.

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[Mr. Kainikkara M. Padmanabha Pillai.]

Sir, by way of conclusion, I wish to say only one thing. I speak not a word in support of the action of police. If, as the Police Commissioner most pertinently remarked, the State Congress people believed in the cult which they mean to symbolise with their dress what they should have done was to keep quiet.

They might have been beaten, they might have been attacked. It is up to them, if they are true congress men, to put up with all that and not to come forward here with an adjournment motion crying like children before their grandmothers and telling us 'We are congressmen, we have been beaten, such incidents are unprecedented in Indian history.' If they are really sincere political workers, let them have the nerve, the strength and the honesty to face the consequences. If they do that they will have public support and not otherwise. This kind of behaviour, first starting the mischief and then coming forward with an adjournment motion is simply disgraceful.

PRESIDENT: It is my duty and my right to address the Assembly before putting this question to vote. I shall only speak a few words at this juncture.

It is a libel on the Government to suggest that the Government have had anything to do, directly, indirectly, proximately or otherwise, with any disturbance at any meeting. Such things have been stated outside the State for purposes into which I need not enter. More atrocious libels upon the people in the State, upon the Government of the State, upon the finances of the State and upon the conduct of the persons in charge of the Government of the State have been uttered than have been heard in India for a very long time, or then could be thought possible in our country and it is not my purpose to deal with those matters now. Suffice it to say that there are just two things which it is my duty to make clear, and I shall keep clear of all personalities in so doing.

So far as the question of responsible Government is concerned, constitutional and proper agitation devoted to the attainment of constitutional advance will never be regarded by any civilized Government as disloyal or subversive, provided of course in an Indian State the fundamental principles of monarchy on which this Government rests are kept in view. If those fundamental principles are sought to be subverted, then that movement will be disloyal. With the fullest sense of responsibility and having regard to the activities of the Congress Party, I, as a member and the head of the Government of Travancore say that, that party has been pursuing disloyal and subversive activities. It has been stated that the Government of Travancore is repressing constitutional movements towards responsible Government. That is not so. I deny it with all the vehemence in my command.

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The second point is this. It has been suggested that the Government, directly or indirectly have been responsible for the acts of violence and for instigation of rowdyism. I deny, I repel that charge with all the strength that is possible and that that charge has to be treated as one more instance of the disloyal and subversive activities of the party I have referred to.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI : As a protest against the statement by the Chair that the activities of the Congress have been disloyal and subversive, while not giving any grounds therefor, even after repeated requests, we walk out of this Hall.

All the members of the State Congress party walked out of the Hall.

The motion was put to vote and lost.

PRESIDENT : Owing to the walkout of the State Congress party it is not possible to count the number of those in favour of the motion. It is worthy of note that among those present now there is none in favour of the motion.

A poll was taken of those who were against the motion and those who were neutral, and the House divided as follows :

AGAINST—49.

1	Mr. Kottalil P. Abraham.	27	Mr. Thariathu Kunjithommen
2	,, P. C. Adichan.	28	,, K. G. Kunjukrishna Pillai.
3	Sahib Bahadur V. Chandamiah.	29	Dr. (Mrs.) Poonen Lukose.
4	Mr. S. Chattanatha Karayalar	30	Mr. K. Madhava Kurup.
5	,, K. J. Cheriyan.	31	,, C. O. Madhavan.
6	,, M. L. D'Cruz.	32	,, P. V. Mathai Chemparathy.
7	Sry. K. Devaki Antharjanam.	33	,, P. Narayana Pillai.
8	Mr. E. E. Pandarathil.	34	,, S. Narayana Pillai.
9	,, D. Francis.	35	,, R. Narayanan Namboori.
10	,, M. Govinda Pillai.	36	Sry. T. Narayani Amma.
11	,, A. Gopala Menon.	37	Mr. Kainikara M. Padmanabha Pillai.
12	,, K. George.	38	,, J. E. A. Pereira.
13	Dr. C. R. Harler.	39	,, M. Ramachandra Rao.
14	Mr. M. L. Janardhana Pillai.	40	,, N. Ramakrishna Pillai.
15	,, N. John Joseph.	41	,, Codiveetil C. Raman Kunju.
16	,, N. V. Joseph.	42	,, M. Ramiah Pillai.
17	,, Joseph Vithayathil.	43	,, P. Sivarama Pillai.
18	,, K. C. Karunakaran.	44	,, M. Sivathanu Pillai.
19	,, M. Kesava Panickar.	45	,, E. Subramonia Aiyar.
20	,, T. C. Kesava Pillai.	46	,, E. P. Varghese.
21	,, T. T. Kesavan Sastri.	47	,, Puliyoor T. P. Velayudhan Pillai.
22	,, K. P. Kochukora Tharakan.	48	,, N. Velu Achary.
23	,, Kaviyoor K. K. Kochukunju.	49	,, P. Vivekanandam.
24	,, S. Krishna Aiyar.		
25	,, Puthupalli S. Krishna Pillai.		
26	,, C. Kumara Das.		

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NEUTRALS—3.

1 Mr. C. Jebamony Nadar.
2 Sahib Bahadur M. K. Mackar Pillai.
3 Mr. S. Nilakanta Pillai.

The Assembly Adjourned at 5.7 P. M. to meet the next day.

A. GUNAMONY,
Secretary to the Sri Mulam Assembly.

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